

Message Text

SECRET

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FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 3942

AMCONSUL ZURICH NIACT IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 3 LUSAKA 2277

NODIS

CHEROKEE

ZURICH FOR THE SECRETARY

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR, RH, WA

SUBJECT: KAUNDA REPLY TO SECRETARY'S LETTER

REF: (A) STATE 216314, (B) STATE 218975

1. CHONA RETURNED THIS EVENING FROM SEEING PRESIDENT KAUNDA UP COUNTRY AND BROUGHT BACK WITH HIM A REPLY TO THE SECRETARY'S LETTER OF SEPTEMBER 1 (REF A). AT THE SAME TIME AS HE GAVE ME THE PRESIDENT'S REPLY I DELIVERED TO HIM THE SECRETARY'S NEW LETTER OF TODAY.

2. THE FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF PRESIDENT'S LETTER TO THE SECRETARY:

QTE DEAR MR. SECRETARY OF STATE

QTE I HAVE FULLY CONSIDERED YOUR COMPREHENSIVE MESSAGE OF AUGUST 31, 1976, ON THE STRENUOUS EFFORTS YOU ARE MARKING TO END THE CURRENT BLOODY CONFLICT IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. I APPRECIATE YOUR PERSONAL COMMITMENT AND YOUR DETERMINATION

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TO ESTABLISH PEACE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA AND RESTORE HUMAN DIGNITY

BASED ON FREEDOM AND JUSTICE.

QTE WITH REGARD TO YOUR FORTHCOMING MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER VORSTER, WE CERTAINLY WISH YOU EVERY SUCCESS. YOUR PROPOSED DATES FOR A VISIT TO ZAMBIA ARE ACCEPTABLE.

QTE WE WERE HAPPY TO RECEIVE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE WILLIAMS ROGERS AND AMBASSADOR SCHAUFLE WHO HAD THE OPPORTUNITY OF MEETING THE SWAPO LEADERSHIP IN LUSAKA. I HOPE THEY FOUND THEM TO BE MEN OF UNDERSTANDING AND VISION DESPITE YEARS OF OPPRESSION, FRUSTRATION, WAR AND VILLIFICATION BY THOSE WHO OPPOSE THEM. I EXPRESS CONFIDENCE IN THE SWAPO LEADERSHIP AS MEN AND WOMEN WHO WILL ABLY LEAD A TRULY INDEPENDENT AND PEACEFUL NAMIBIA IN THE INTERESTS OF THE PEOPLE OF ALL RACES IN THAT COUNTRY AND SOUTHERN AFRICA IN GENERAL.

QTE AFTER CAREFULLY STUDYING YOUR PROPOSALS, WE BELIEVE THAT RAPID PROGRESS IS POSSIBLE IN NAMIBIA IF THE ZURICH AGREEMENT COULD BE BASED ON THE FOLLOWING:-

QTE (1) GENEVA SHOULD BE THE VENUE FOR THE NAMIBIA INDEPENDENCE CONFERENCE. THIS CONFERENCE WILL NOT BE AN EXTENSION OF THE WINDHOEK CONSTITUTIONAL DISCUSSIONS. SWAPO CATEGORICALLY REJECTS, UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES, WHAT THEY TERM THE 'TURNHALLE TRIBAL TALKS.' THEY CANNOT ACCEPT A CONFERENCE OF TRIBAL AND RACIAL REPRESENTATIVES. THE NAMIBIA INDEPENDENCE CONFERENCE IN GENEVA WILL BE ON ENTIRELY NEW BASIS REFLECTING THE UNITY OF THE WHOLE PEOPLE OF INDEPENDENT AND SOVEREIGN NAMIBIA AS A UNITARY STATE.

QTE (2) SWAPO HAS BEEN AND IS STILL READY TO TALK DIRECTLY WITH THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT REGARDING THE MODALITIES FOR TRANSFERRING POWER TO THE PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF SWAPO.

QTE (3) SWAPO INSISTS THAT BEFORE ANY TALKS THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT MUST RELEASE ALL SWAPO POLITICAL PRISONERS. SOME OF THE LEADERS NOW IN PRISON ARE LIKELY TO BE PART OF THE SWAPO DELEGATION TO THE INDEPENDENCE TALKS.

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QTE (4) SWAPO INSISTS THAT ANY TALKS BETWEEN THEM AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT MUST BE UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE UNITED NATIONS. TO THIS END THE UNITED NATIONS COUNCIL FOR NAMIBIA MUST HAVE OFFICIAL REPRESENTATION IN THE INDEPENDENCE NEGOTIATIONS.

QTE (5) SOUTH AFRICA MUST WITHDRAW ALL HER ARMED FORCES FROM

NAMIBIA AND END HER REPRESSION OF THE NAMIBIAN POPULATION.

QTE (6) THE DATE FOR INDEPENDENCE MUST BE WITHIN NINE MONTHS FROM THE START OF THE GENEVA TALKS.

QTE (7) THE NAMIBIAN INDEPENDENCE TALKS MUST START IMMEDIATELY.

QTE YOU WILL READILY NOTE THAT IN ESSENCE, THE POINTS ON WHICH SWAPO SEEKS AGREEMENT ARE NOT NEW. THEY ARE SET OUT AS PRECISELY AS POSSIBLE TO AVOID MISUNDERSTANDING IN YOUR CRUCIAL PEACE MISSION AND TO FACILITATE YOUR NEGOTIATIONS WITH PRIME MINISTER VORSTER.

QTE IF AGREEMENT IS REACHED ON THE BASIS OF THESE PROPOSALS, THEN BARRING CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH WE CANNOT FORESEE AT THE MOMENT, WE EXPECT NO NEW CONDITIONS FROM SWAPO.

QTE I, THEREFORE, SINCERELY HOPE WE CAN MAKE PROGRESS. TO ALL INTENTS AND PURPOSES SOUTH AFRICA HAS ALREADY LOSE NAMIBIA. WHAT SHE DOES IN GENEVA WILL DETERMINE THE TYPE OF INDEPENDENT NEIGHBOUR SHE WILL HAVE UNDER SWAPO. SWAPO BELIEVES IN NON-RACIALISM SOUTH AFRICA SHOULD NOT MAKE IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR WHITES TO ENJOY THEIR LIFE IN AN INDEPENDENT AND SOVEREIGN NAMIBIA.

QTE ZIMBABWE PRESENTS A MORE COMPLICATED PROBLEM. I CANNOT GIVE YOU ANY ASSURANCE THAT PROGRESS IS POSSIBLE. FOR THE PROGRESS WHICH YOU AND US DESIRE IS NOW UNDERLINE SOLELY END UNDERLINE DEPENDENT ON TWO FACTORS COMPLETELY BEYOND OUR CONTROL BY PEACEFUL MEANS NAMELY:-

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AMCONSUL ZURICH NIACT IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 3 LUSAKA 2277

NODIS

CHEROKEE

ZURICH FOR THE SECRETARY

QTE FIRST: IAN SMITH AND HIS SUPPORTERS.

QTE SECOND: PRIME MINISTER VORSTER AND HIS GOVERNMENT ON WHOM SMITH DEPENDS FOR MILITARY AND ECONOMIC SUPPORT IN THE WAR AGAINST THE NATIONALISTS. WE KNOW THAT SOUTH AFRICA ARMS AND PERSONNEL ARE ENGAGED IN SUPPORTING IAN SMITH. THE WITHDRAWAL OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS FROM RHODESIA WAS PARTIAL IN SO FAR AS A LOT OF EQUIPMENT E.G. HELICOPTERS AND PILOTS REMAINED TO SUPPORT SMITH. THESE WE BELIEVE, HAVE BEEN USED BY SMITH IN ACTS OF AGGRESSION AGAINST MOZAMBIQUE. SMITH'S OBDURACY THUS DERIVES NOT FROM WITHIN BUT FROM UNDERLINE INTER ALIA END UNDERLINE PRIME MINISTER VORSTER AND THE SANCTIONS-BREAKERS.

QTE THESE TWO FACTORS ARE DECISIVE IN THE CONTINUATION OF THE CONFLICT IN ZIMBABWE. THEY ARE COMPLETELY BEYOND OUR CONTROL IN A PEACEFUL STRATEGY. HENCE, INTENSIFIED ARMED STRUGGLE IS THE ONLY MEANS BY WHICH WE CAN MOVE MORE DEFINITELY IN GAINING CONTROL OVER SMITH. AFRICA WILL THEREFORE CONTINUE TO SUPPORT THE FREEDOM FIGHTERS UNTIL SMITH ACCEPTS THE TRANSFER OF POWER TO THE BLACK MAJORITY. THE WORLD MUST THUS CONTINUE TO MOUNT MAXIMUM POLITICAL, MILITARY, ECONOMIC AND PSYCHOLOGICAL PRESSURE ON SMITH TO ACCEPT MAJORITY RULE
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IN THE INTERESTS OF PEACE AND THE FUTURE OF THE WHITES IN AN INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE. WE HAVE NO DOUBT ABOUT YOUR PERSONAL COMMITMENT. BUT SMITH IS SUCH A SLIPPERY AND UNPREDICTABLE CHARACTER THAT PROGRESS BY PEACEFUL MEANS SIMPLY DOES NOT SEEM POSSIBLE WITH HIM STILL IN THE SADDLE IN THE REBEL COLONY. OUR EXPERIENCE SHOWS THAT HE TRIES TO USE PEACE INITIATIVES TO GIVE FALSE CONFIDENCE AMONG WHITE SUPPORTERS, TO BUY TIME AND TO STRENGTHEN HIS FORCES AGAINST THE NATIONALISTS. HENCE WE COULD NOT TALK PEACE WITH SMITH IN THE CIRCUMSTANCES.

QTE WE HAVE CLOSELY STUDIED YOUR PROPOSALS. WE DO NOT DOUBT YOUR GOOD INTENTIONS. THE PROBLEM WE FIND IN THE SCENARIO OF THE PEACEFUL STRATEGY IS HOW TO PROCEED FROM THE PRESENT IMPASSE TO THE DAY WHEN THE RHODESIAN FRONT ADMINISTRATION ANNOUNCES ITS WITHDRAWAL AND ITS ACCEPTANCE OF BLACK DOMINATED TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT. HAVING DEALT WITH IAN

SMITH, I AM SURE YOU WILL APPRECIATE OUR DIFFICULTIES IN THIS IMPORTANT SCENARIO. PERHAPS AT THE END OF THE ZURICH TALKS WITH MR. VORSTER, YOU WILL HAVE MORE DETAILS ON THE CONCRETE PROGRAMME TOWARDS THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE SMITH REGIME AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT.

QTE IF THE RHODESIAN FRONT ADMINISTRATION WITHDREW, AND A TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT WITH A BLACK NATIONALIST MAJORITY WERE ESTABLISHED, THEN THERE WOULD BE POSSIBILITIES FOR ESTABLISHING PEACE IN ZIMBABWE.

QTE WE BELIEVE IN NON-RACIALISM, BUT SMITH STANDS IN THE WAY TOWARDS THAT OBJECTIVE. THE NATIONALISTS BELIEVE THAT THERE IS ROOM FOR ALL IN ZIMBABWE INCLUDING WHITES ENJOYING FULL RIGHTS AS CITIZENS OF THEIR COUNTRY, BUT SMITH IS BUSY DIGGING THE GRAVE FOR OUR HOPES.

QTE YOU CAN WELL UNDERSTAND WHY I AM VERY CLEAR ABOUT POSSIBLE DEVELOPMENTS IN NAMIBIA. I CANNOT SAY THE SAME FOR ZIMBABWE.

QTE MR. VORSTER IS STILL THE KEY TO PEACE IN NAMIBIA AND ZIMBABWE. BY THE SAME TOKEN, HE CANNOT ESCAPE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE WAR IN THESE AREAS. HE IS THE REAL POWER IN NAMIBIA AND TO A DECISIVE EXTENT IN ZIMBABWE. HENCE THE IMPORTANCE
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OF YOUR MEETING IN ZURICH.

QTE WE WILL CERTAINLY CONTINUE OUR EFFORTS TO UNIFY THE NATIONALISTS IN ZIMBABWE. OUR EFFORTS WILL BE MADE EASIER IF SMITH IS REMOVED AND A NATIONALIST LED TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT IS ESTABLISHED IMMEDIATELY. IN THOSE CIRCUMSTANCES IT SHOULD BE POSSIBLE TO SHORTEN THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD TO LESS THAN EIGHTEEN MONTHS. THIS WOULD REMOVE UNCERTAINTY AMONG THE PEOPLE OF ALL RACES AND THUS CREATE BETTER CONDITIONS FOR AN INDEPENDENT AND SOVEREIGN ZIMBABWE.

QTE I CONGRATULATE YOU ON YOUR SPEECH IN PHILADELPHIA. IT GOES A LONG WAY IN UNDERLINING AMERICA'S VIEW OF THE GRAVE SITUATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA AND THE EQUALLY GRAVE RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT.

QTE I, THEREFORE, LOOK FORWARD TO SEEING YOU AS SOON AS PRACTICABLE.

QTE WITH GOD'S BLESSINGS.

QTE YOURS SINCERELY, SIGNED KENNETH D. KAUNDA PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF ZAMBIA END QTE END TEXT

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AMCONSUL ZURICH NIACT IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 3 OF 3 LUSAKA 2277

NODIS

CHEROKEE

ZURICH FOR THE SECRETARY

3. CHONA MADE THE FOLLOWING COMMENTS ON THE ABOVE LETTER: PRESIDENT WANTED THE SECRETARY TO HAVE THE MAXIMUM SWAPO POSITION, FIRST, BECAUSE HE THOUGHT IT WOULD BE USEFUL IN THE SECRETARY'S TALKS WITH VORSTER AND SECOND, BECAUSE THE SECRETARY IN HIS LETTER HAD SAID HE WANTED TO BE SURE THAT NO NEW CONDITIONS WOULD BE RAISED WHEN HE ARRIVED. CHONA REPEATED THAT HE DID NOT THINK SWAPO WOULD INSIST ON ALL THESE POINTS AS PRECONDITIONS FOR A GENEVA MEETING. MANY OF THEM HAD IN ESSENCE ALREADY BEEN MET. SOME, LIKE PRISONERS, SWAPO MIGHT AGREE TO IF THEY WERE ONLY PARTIALLY FULFILLED AND OTHERS LIKE WITHDRAWAL OF ARMED FORCES COULD BE DISCUSSED IN GENEVA.

4. WITH REGARD TO THE SECRETARY'S LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT OF SEPTEMBER 3, CHONA PROMISED TO DELIVER IT IMMEDIATELY TO THE PRESIDENT ON THE LATTER'S RETURN TO LUSAKA SATURDAY AFTERNOON. THE PRESIDENT IS LEAVING AGAIN FOR DAR SUNDAY EVENING. CHONA PROMISED TO BE BACK IN TOUCH WITH ME SATURDAY NIGHT ON THE SUBJECT. HE DID MAKE A NUMBER OF COMMENTS HOWEVER. FIRST, HE SAID HE COULD STATE FOR THE PRESIDENT THAT THE SECRETARY WAS WELCOME IN LUSAKA AT ANYTIME WITHIN THE TIME FRAME SET OUT IN THE LETTER WITH THE

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EXCEPTION OF TWO DAYS: SEPTEMBER 14 AND SEPTEMBER 19, WHEN THE PRESIDENT HAD TO BE UP COUNTRY ADDRESSING AN IMPORTANT PARTY MEETING WHICH IN EACH CASE WOULD LAST UNTIL MID-AFTERNOON. SECRETARY COULD COME ONCE OR AS MANY TIMES AS HE WISHED DURING THAT PERIOD. IF HE WISHED SCHAUFLE TO COME FIRST, HE BELIEVED THAT WOULD BE FINE WITH THE PRESIDENT. CHONA INTERPRETED NYERERE'S REQUEST FOR MORE TIME AS RELATED TO THE NEED TO BRING THE NATIONALISTS TOGETHER. THIS PROCESS, HOWEVER, COULD CONTINUE AND HE WAS SURE THAT NEITHER NYERERE NOR KAUNDA WANTED THE SECRETARY'S EFFORTS TO BRING AN END TO THE SMITH GOVERNMENT IN ANY WAY TO BE DELAYED.

5. I TOOK THE OCCASION TO MENTION TO CHONA THAT, AS HE WAS AWARE, WE HAVE BEEN IN CONTACT WITH A NUMBER OF ZIMBABWE NATIONALISTS AND THAT IN THIS CONNECTION I WOULD MAKE AN EFFORT TO ARRANGE A MEETING SATURDAY, OR SUNDAY WITH NKOMO (WHO RETURNED THIS AFTERNOON TO LUSAKA) IN ORDER TO CONTINUE THE DIALOGUE WHICH THE SECRETARY AND SCHAUFLE HAVE HAD WITH HIM IN THE PAST.

6. DURING THE COURSE OF THE CONVERSATION I ALSO MENTIONED, AS A PERSONAL REFLECTION, THE CONTEXT IN WHICH THE INITIATIVES WERE BEING UNDERTAKEN BY THE SECRETARY, NOTING THEIR IMPORTANCE FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY INTERESTS, AND THE CRUCIAL NEED FOR A SOLUTION NOW WHILE THERE WAS STILL TIME. I SAID THAT MANY CONSIDERED THAT THE SECRETARY HAD LITTLE TO GAIN IN TERMS OF DOMESTIC POLITICS FROM THIS INITIATIVE AND GENERALLY FOLLOWED THE ARGUMENTS CONTAINED IN STATE 217163. CHONA TOOK NO EXCEPTION TO THESE POINTS AND SEEMED TO AGREE READILY.

7. IT IS UNLIKELY I WILL BE ABLE TO SEE PRESIDENT KAUNDA DURING THE SHORT TIME HE IS IN LUSAKA OVER THE WEEKEND. SINCE CHONA WILL BE SEEING HIM ON THIS SUBJECT ON SATURDAY EVENING AND TRAVELING TO DAR WITH HIM ON SUNDAY, THIS SEEMED TO BE THE BEST WAY TO GET THE ABOVE POINTS ACROSS TO THE PRESIDENT BEFORE THE BEGINNING OF NEXT WEEK, AS REQUESTED REFTEL.

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